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RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AID-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01
	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01
	USIE-00	RPE-00	/026W				

-----8A28ED 241423Z /43/43

O 231506Z DEC 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2601  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 05319

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT--PARA 05)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: ARUSHA AGREEMENT: KIGALI REACTION

REF: KIGALI 5287

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1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THERE IS NO JOY IN KIGALI AT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AGREEMENT IN ARUSHA, BECAUSE EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY (MRND) DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE AGREEMENT AND HAS NOT ACCEPTED IT. ONE SOURCE IN THE PRESIDENCY SAID THE AGREEMENT WOULD REVERSE THE REVOLUTION OF 1959. THE MRND WARNS THAT IT MAY NOT JOIN A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT FORMED ON THE BASIS OF ARUSHA. THE POLITICAL CRISIS HAS INTENSIFIED AS THE RESULT OF PREEMPTIVE ACTION BY THE

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FOREIGN MINISTER. IT COULD LEAD TO A COLLAPSE OF THE GOVERNMENT. WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT THE MRND HAS NOT ACTED TO MAKE A RUPTURE INEVITABLE, BUT WE HOPE INTERNAL DIALOGUE WILL RESUME TOMORROW, AND WILL CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE ALL PARTIES TO KEEP TALKING. END SUMMARY.

3. AS MOST ADDRESSEES ARE AWARE, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED LATE DECEMBER 22 IN ARUSHA ON A POWER SHARING FORMULA ALMOST IDENTICAL TO THAT OUTLINED IN REFTTEL. UNFORTUNATELY, IT WAS ANNOUNCED WELL BEFORE THE COMPLETION OF CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES HERE. IT WAS NOT SIGNED AS A PROTOCOL, BUT WAS ANNOUNCED HERE AS A PROPOSAL MADE BY THE TANZANIANS AND ACCEPTED BY THE GOR AND THE RPF (TEXT FAXED TO AF/C).

POPULAR REACTION  
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4. AFTER TWO YEARS OF WAR WHICH HAS CAUSED UNTOLD SUFFERING, ECONOMIC DECLINE, AND POLITICAL CHAOS, ONE MIGHT EXPECT A SENSE OF JUBILATION, OR AT LEAST RELIEF, TO ACCOMPANY LAST NIGHT'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF AGREEMENT IN ARUSHA ON POWER SHARING TO END THE WAR. NOT SO. KIGALI IS WAITING FOR THE SECOND SHOE TO FALL. ACCOMPANYING THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON RADIO RWANDA OF AGREEMENT IN ARUSHA WAS AN MRND COMMUNIQUE RESULTING FROM A PARTY MEETING DECEMBER 21 ACCUSING THE PRIME MINISTER OF A CAMPAIGN OF LIES, TRYING TO DISCREDIT THE MRND AND ITS PRESIDENT, AND OF BEING THE REAL SOURCE OF BLOCKAGE IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THUS, EVERYONE WHO HEARD THE RADIO ON THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 22 OR THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 23 KNEW THERE WAS SOMETHING AMISS.

MRND REACTION  
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5. LATER IN THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 23, THE MRND NATIONAL SECRETARY RELEASED A PRESS COMMUNIQUE GIVING THE PARTY'S REACTION TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF LATE DECEMBER 22. THE MRND REPEATED IT'S PREVIOUS POSITION THAT IT HAD NO INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING IN

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A GOVERNMENT WHERE IT CANNOT INFLUENCE EVENTS. THE MRND EXPRESSED ASTONISHMENT THAT THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WOULD SIGN (SIC) AN ACCORD WHILE HIS PARTY (THE MDR) AND THE PL AND PSD WERE LOCKED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MRND ON THE ISSUE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF PORTFOLIOS. THE MRND ACCUSED THE PARTNERS OF NOT PLAYING FAIR AND WITH PRESENTING THE

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MRND WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI. THE MRND RESERVED ITS POSITION ON ADHERENCE TO THE AGREEMENT AND ANNOUNCED THAT IT MAY DECIDE NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEXT TRANSITION GOVERNMENT.

REACTION FROM THE PRESIDENCY  
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6. THE DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET, ENOCH RUHIGIRA, SAID THE AGREEMENT IN ARUSHA MEANS THAT WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN WHAT WILL BE A "DIFFICULT TRANSITION". HE WAS NOT AT ALL SURE THAT THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER COMPROMISE AND WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE OPPOSITION'S PROCEEDING WITH AN

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	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00

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RPE-00 (AS-01 ADS-00 ) /025W  
-----8ADB4F 282328Z /43

O 231506Z DEC 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2602  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 05319

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
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AGREEMENT WHEN IT WAS CLEAR THAT INTERNAL CONSENSUS  
HAD NOT YET BEEN REACHED. BUT HE IS PERSONALLY  
PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE INTERNAL DIALOGUE. HE TOLD  
ME THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED HIM AT 11:00 LAST NIGHT  
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TO SAY HE DID NOT KNOW HOW ARUSHA HAD GOTTEN AHEAD OF  
THE PROCESS HERE.

7. ENOCH'S COLLEAGUE, AMBASSADOR RENZAHU, WAS MORE  
GRAPHIC. HE SAID THE PRIME MINISTER HAD LIED TO  
ENOCH CONSISTENTLY OVER THE STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS.  
HE SAID THAT THE PRESIDENCY SEES THE ACCORDS IN  
ARUSHA AS "AN EFFORT TO REVERSE THE REVOLUTION OF  
1959", MEANING IT WOULD RETURN POWER TO THE TUTSIS.  
HE ALSO SAID THAT THE TANZANIAN DECISION TO OFFER THE  
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO THE RPF WAS A SERIOUS MISTAKE  
AND WOULD NOT BE WELL RECEIVED BY THE PEOPLE OF  
RWANDA. ON THE UPBEAT SIDE, RENZAHU SAID THAT  
DISCUSSIONS ARE NOT CLOSED AND THAT THEY MAY  
CONTINUE. HE SAID THE FORMAT OF DISCUSSIONS IN THE  
COURSE OF YESTERDAY, WHILE THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS  
DOING HIS PERFIDY, INVOLVED TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUGENZI,  
NZAMURAMBAHU AND NGIRUMPATSE, THE LEADERS OF THE FOUR  
MAJOR PARTIES IN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT. RENZAHU  
BELIEVES THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE AND

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PROBABLY WILL. (NOTE: WHEN THE DISCUSSIONS BROKE UP EARLY IN THE AFTERNOON DECEMBER 22, ANOTHER SESSION WAS SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 24 IN THE MORNING. THIS WILL PROCEED UNLESS THE MRND, MEETING THIS EVENING DECIDES TO CANCEL. I HAVE ENCOURAGED ENOCH AND JUSTIN TO PROCEED, UNDERSTAND FAUSTIN IS AGREEABLE, AND I AM TRYING TO REACH MATHIEU TO ENCOURAGE HIM TO PROCEED.)

THE PRIMATURE  
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8. THE PRIME MINISTER'S COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS HAILED AGREEMENT ON THE PROPOSAL HE CONTENTED HAD COME FROM THE TANZANIAN FACILITATOR, NOT FROM EITHER PARTY TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE CHARACTERIZED THE PROPOSAL AS A "LAST CHANCE" FOR AGREEMENT AND SAID IT HAD PREVENTED TOTAL BREAKDOWN IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THE TWO SEATS STILL TO BE ALLOCATED WERE NEGOTIABLE AND DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THEM GOING TO THE CDR AS PROPOSED BY THE MRND, AS LONG AS THE CDR COMMITTED ITSELF TO IMPLEMENTING AN ARUSHA ACCORD. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO DISCUSSION IN KIGALI OF THE INTERIOR PORTFOLIO GOING TO THE RPF. HE HOPES THE MRND WILL ACCEPT THE PACKAGE AND NOT OPT OUT OF PARTICIPATING IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT.

PL REACTION  
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9. PL PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI TOLD ME THIS AFTERNOON THAT HE HAD BEEN SURPRISED BY THE "STUPID ANNOUNCEMENT" FROM ARUSHA. HE SAID IT HAD COME JUST AFTER THE FOUR PARTIES HAD HELD A MEETING AND HAD PROMISED TO HOLD A FURTHER MEETING ON THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 24. MUGENZI SAID HE HOPES THAT THE THIRD MEETING TOMORROW CAN GO AHEAD IN ANY CASE. HE ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS APOLOGIES TO THE MRND FOR THE SURPRISE ACTION IN ARUSHA. HE WAS ALSO UPSET BY THE "PREMATURE" ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ASSIGNING OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO THE RPF. BUT MUGENZI,

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SINCERE OR NOT IN HIS APOLOGIES, IS UNWILLING TO BACK  
AWAY FROM THE AGREEMENT IN ARUSHA, ONLY TO TRY TO  
SOFTEN THE BLOW IN FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MRND.

COMMENT

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10. THE MRND AND THE PRESIDENCY HAVE GOOD REASON TO  
FEEL THEY WERE DIDDLED. THEY WERE. THEIR REACTION  
WAS QUICK AND NEGATIVE, BUT AVOIDED CLOSING DOORS.  
IT IS ENCOURAGING THAT THE MRND WALKED UP TO THE  
BRINK OF REFUSING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEXT

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	RPE-00	(AS-01	ADS-00	)	/025W		

-----8ADB54 282329Z /43

O 231506Z DEC 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2603  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
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AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

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GOVERNMENT, AND THEN BACKED AWAY, AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT. THEY MAY WELL DECIDE IN THE END THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO JOIN THE GOVERNMENT, BUT AT LEAST THEY DID NOT ACT IMPULSIVELY. SOME ARE ALREADY  
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SUGGESTING THAT THE PRIME MINISTER MAY HAVE TO PAY FOR HIS PRECEPTIOUS ACTION BY CONCEDED THE TWO OPEN PORTFOLIOS TO THE CDR OR OTHER MRND ALLIES. IF THE OPPOSITION IS WILLING TO PAY THAT PRICE, THE OUTCOME MAY NOT BE SO BAD AFTER ALL, EXCEPT FOR THE DAMAGE DONE TO ANY PROGRESS THAT WAS BEING MADE ON MUTUAL TRUST BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

11. IN SO FAR AS POSSIBLE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO URGE THE MRND SIDE NOT TO REPUDIATE WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN AGREED, AND TO ENCOURAGE THE OTHER SIDE TO CONTINUE TO CONSULT WITH THE MRND TO SEE HOW MANY OF THEIR CONCERNS CAN BE MET BY COMPROMISE.

12. NEVERTHELESS, WE MUST AT LEAST CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PROCESS WILL TOTALLY BREAK DOWN SOON. ONE POSSIBILITY IS THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD DISMISS HIS CABINET. HE COULD RECREATE A MULTI-PARTY CABINET WITH PARTIES OF HIS CHOICE. BUT THE REACTION TO THAT WOULD PROBABLY BE INTERNAL STRIFE AND POSSIBLY AN ULTIMATE RECOURSE BY THE CONCERTATION PARTIES TO THE MILITARY FORCE OF THE RPF. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY MIGHT INVITE THE RPF IN AS THEIR ALLY. ANOTHER NEGATIVE OPTION IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE MRND MIGHT FULFILL ITS THREAT NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT, THEREBY LEAVING THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN CHARGE TO INVITE THE RPF TO RETURN. BUT THE MRND CONTINUES TO RETAIN INTERNAL POWER, INCLUDING THE SECURITY FORCES. THEIR NONPARTICIPATION WOULD NOT NECESSARILY DERAIL THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT THEIR ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO A

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GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THEY DO NOT PARTICIPATE COULD BE  
VIOLENT AND HIGHLY TROUBLING. FLATEN

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